DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 180 064 EA 012 118

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TITLE Responsive Educational Planning: Myth or Reality?
INSTITUTION United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Paris (France). International Inst. for Educational Planning.
REPORT NO IIEP-OR-47
PUB DATE Jan 77
NOTE 51p.

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Centralization: *Citizen Participation: *Community Involvement: *Decentralization: *Developing Nations: *Educational Planning: Elementary Secondary Education: Foreign Countries
IDENTIFIERS Peru: Senegal: Zambia

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on an analysis of the two general approaches to educational planning--the centralized, top-down, approach and the localized, bottom-up, approach. After an introductory section, the second section of the paper centers on a brief discussion of the historical development of educational planning and the assumptions on which it is based. The next section analyzes some of the current forces that are promoting a reconsideration of centralized planning. The fourth section looks at some of the localized approaches and their assumptions, giving particular attention to contradictions between goals and the means normally used to carry out procedures. The forth section presents the concepts of participation and decentralization. The last part of this section looks at some of the conditions that are necessary for more effective local involvement. In the fifth section, three brief illustrations of planning procedures are discussed. They are the national reform effort in Peru, the recently published educational reform statement in Zambia, and the more localized approach from Senegal. The final section focuses on the point of tension between the two approaches and suggests some of the kinds of modification that will be necessary in traditional planning concepts.
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Responsive educational planning: myth or reality?

EA 012 118

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The author wishes to acknowledge the considerable help and support received from staff members of IIEP. Because of the broad scope of the topic, the author has had to reply on the experience and the intuition of those most familiar with different aspects of educational planning. The brevity of the presentation may oversimplify complex topics for which apologies are offered in advance. The risk will be judged worth taking if readers find new and useful perspectives from the juxtaposition of issues normally seen separately.

IIEP Occasional Papers No. 47

RESPONSIVE EDUCATIONAL PLANNING: MYTH OR REALITY?

David R. Evans

Unesco: International Institute for
Educational Planning

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Printed in France by the
International Institute for Educational Planning
7-9, rue Eugène-Delacroix, 75017 Paris
January 1977

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I. INTRODUCTION

> ". . . in the preparation of development plans, the main emphasis at all times is the development of people and not of things.
>
> If development is to have maximum benefit to the people, and if it is to be meaningful, it has to originate from the people themselves. People themselves must participate in decision-making, in considering, planning and implementing their development plans. For it is the people who know better what the pressing needs are." 1/

During the past twenty years or so educational planning has grown from a tentative idea to a well-developed set of concepts and techniques, which are being applied as part of national development planning all around the world. The theoretical basis of educational planning and most of the methodologies have been closely tied to economic approaches to development and have coincided with the tremendous growth in that subject as a result of the era of national independence, and the subsequent striving for accelerated national growth. A widely-used set of planning techniques now exist and are the basis of systematic training provided at both international and national level institutions.

Following this period of growth and maturation of educational planning, there now exists a new phase of questioning, of rethinking, and of analysis of the weaknesses of these planning processes. The questioning parallels doubts and concerns being voiced about the adequacy of the traditional concepts of economic growth and the failure of economic development to make significant progress toward redressing inter- and intra-national disparities. Dissatisfaction with global concepts of GNP and rates of growth in the field of economics are matched by disillusionment with the effects of national manpower planning and centralized statistical procedures for educational planning.

The shortcomings of both economic development and educational planning processes have been highlighted by persistent failures to make any appreciable progress in either economic development or educational advances for the majority of the world's peoples trapped in rural poverty. Patterns of economic and educational development are increasingly seen as benefitting a largely urban minority, and reinforcing rather than correcting social and economic disparities. Dissatisfaction with both the theories and the assumptions underlying educational planning have led to new attempts to formulate both the goals and the processes used in educational planning.

Current educational activities in rural areas often serve to highlight the problems which result when planners with a national perspective design educational systems which are remote from the lives and the needs of those in the rural areas. Curriculum and methods are often focussed on entrance to higher levels, and refer primarily to concepts appropriate in the more modern urban sections of the country. The amount of education is often inadequate, and the quality of staff and resources well below national averages. The resultant opportunities for education in rural areas are

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1/ Kinunda, M. J., Experience in Tanzania in identifying and satisfying local needs in education, Paris, IIEP, Seminar Paper No. 14, 1974, p. 2.

well below those in the major cities. Increasing dissatisfaction with the efficacy of centralized planning procedures for the rural areas has now stimulated some serious efforts to devise alternative means of planning. The discussion of these alternative means and their relationship to current planning procedures forms the central topic of this paper.

Using a variety of labels these efforts attempt to address one or another aspect of the perceived weaknesses of the 'traditional' approaches to educational planning. These new thrusts are reflected in such phrases as : local assessment of learning needs, participatory planning, decentralization of planning responsibility, planning for non-formal education, integrated rural development planning. Other weaknesses have led to efforts to place education more clearly in the context of desired social and economic patterns of development, and to accommodate a wider variety of ideological models of development.

Common among all these approaches are themes of local relevance, local participation, and increased local control of decisions by those who will be most directly affected by the decisions. Are these commonalities in conflict with some of the basic premises underlying the existing educational planning approaches? To what extent are there significant discrepancies between centralized educational planning and the administrative structures which normally accompany it, and the methods and philosophies of local participation in the determination of learning needs and the educational structures to meet them? Are there unresolvable conflicts between these two, or will changes in procedure and structure allow an integration of them? Are there deeper underlying issues of basic values and social structure which will limit the type of planning which will be feasible in a particular setting?

The paper will focus on an analysis of these two general approaches to educational planning - the centralized top down approach, and the localized bottom-up approach. Attention will first center on a brief discussion of the historical development of educational planning and the assumptions upon which it is based. The next section will analyze some of the current forces which are promoting a reconsideration of centralized educational planning. The third section will then look at some of the localized approaches and their assumptions with particular attention being paid to contradictions between the goals and the means normally used to carry out the procedures. These three sections thus set the stage for an analysis of current conceptual and practical problems in relating the two approaches.

The following section presents two concepts: participation and decentralization. Both concepts are analyzed in some detail in order to provide the conceptual tools necessary for a clearer understanding of the differences between localization rhetoric and the various degrees to which the rhetoric is being implemented. The last part of the section looks at some of the conditions which are necessary for more effective local involvement.

Three brief illustrations of planning procedures are then discussed. The national reform effort in Peru during the past five years, the recently published educational reform statement in Zambia, and an example of a more localized approach from Senegal, serve as a basis for applying the concepts of participation and decentralization discussed in the previous section. The discussion highlights the issues facing planners as they attempt to incorporate the more localized planning efforts into their existing procedures.

The final section focusses on the points of tension between the two approaches and suggests some of the kinds of modifications which will be necessary in traditional planning concepts. The reader should not expect solutions, but will hopefully come away with a much clearer understanding of the problem areas and the kinds of tradeoffs to be made between systematic, neat, centralized planning, and the more organic, conflicting, and ambiguous planning that results from genuine local participation in the planning process.

II. EDUCATIONAL PLANNING: THE CENTRALIZED APPROACH

Little needs to be said in detail about the normal centralized approach to educational planning. Good statements of early procedures and assumptions can be found in the writings of Coombs, Harbison, Anderson et al. 1/ The initial task faced by educational planners was to help newly independent nations in Africa and Asia solve their immediate problems of providing high- and middle-level manpower to staff the government and the economy. The focus therefore was naturally on the production of plans which detailed the timing and the sequencing of educational activities needed to produce this manpower. Clearly the demand for high-level manpower was closely tied to the growth of various sectors of the economy, and thus educational planning became associated primarily with economic approaches to development.

During the following years projection and planning techniques were developed, tested and refined into a body of reasonably effective procedures. By then, however, enough time had elapsed so that some of the major problems with the early plans could be seen. Questions were raised which led to two types of efforts: on the one hand, systematic attempts to improve the planning techniques to make them more effective, and on the other, attempts to broaden planning to include human rights issues of basic education for all and concerns about quality in education in content areas besides those directly related to economic development. 2/ However, despite some discussion at international levels of the non-economic issues of planning, most countries were still in the phase of large-scale quantitative expansion to meet popular demand and planning continued to focus primarily on quantitative analysis for system-wide needs.

The same trends continue today - ever-increasing sophistication of planning techniques, and simultaneously more discussion and growing awareness of the real limitations of the quantitative approach. A brief analysis of some of the basic assumptions underlying the centralized planning approach will set the stage for a better understanding of the problem.

1/ Harbison, F.H. and Myers, C.A., Education, manpower and economic growth, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1964. See also Bereday, G. et al. (Eds.) The world yearbook of education, 1967 : Educational planning, London Evans Brothers Ltd., 1967, and of course the well-known reference: Coombs, P.H. The world educational crisis, New York, Oxford University Press, 1968.

2/ Beeby, C.E., "Educational quality in practice" in Beeby, C.E. (Ed.) Qualitative aspects of educational planning, Paris, Unesco/IIEP, 1969, pp. 39-70.

Perhaps the most basic assumption in the traditional educational planning approach lies in the way the planners envision the shape of the future educational system. Most operate on the assumption that the structure of society is stable, and that educational systems in the future can be predicted by essentially linear projections from the shape of the existing system. 1/ They do not rule out various kinds of structural reforms or even substantial shifts in content, but all see the system as essentially composed of three levels with selection processes between each, and with promotion quotas based on a combination of demands from the economy and the pressures of popular demand for more capacity. Limits are then imposed by financial and personnel availability at any particular point. While planners are well aware of the limits of this approach in terms of the needs of society, little serious effort is devoted to developing major alternatives to the current models.

Educational plans are closely tied to the economic model for the planner growth of a particular society. As such, the primary focus is on national needs for the production of appropriate forms of trained personnel. Whatever the assumptions underlying the economic model and whatever the consequences of that approach are, they are implicitly included in the educational plan. Thus economic models which focus on industrialization as the means for overall development, or emphasize the modern economy as the means to generate the resources to develop the traditional economy become integral parts of the educational plan. The problems and inequities which result from these economic approaches frequently show up as symptoms in the malfunctioning of the educational system. Problems of unemployed school-leavers, ever increasing pressures to expand education at higher levels, dysfunctional academic education, spiraling costs and worries about education's role in encouraging rural-urban migration, are all examples of issues that are basically economic rather than educational in nature. Yet planners operate as if the causes and therefore the remedies are to be found in the educational system. 2/ The result is normally a series of narrowly-focussed 'solutions' in the form of educational plans. Special non-school programmes are devised to train, or at least occupy, school leavers; the curriculum is revised to include a more rural emphasis in order to induce pupils to become farmers; and internal efficiency is improved to provide more places at higher levels. In effect, the planner is designing non-systems responses to what are at root economic systems problems and not educational systems problems.

1/ Malassis characterizes educational planning as having three possible approaches to the modelling of the future of education: (i) as a product of the past - leading to immediate educational plans, (ii) as an extrapolation of the present into the future - or first generation educational plans, and (iii) alternative models for the new society of the future. Malassis, L., The rural world : education and development. Paris, Unesco, 1976, p. 101. A wide variety of future planning techniques do exist for creating alternative models. See for instance, "Alternative educational futures in the United States and Europe : methods, issues and policy relevance", Paris, OECD, 1972.

2/ Hallak, J., "Planning from quantity to quality, forthcoming in Adams, R. (Ed.) "Educational planning : towards a qualitative perspective", Paris, Unesco/IIEP, 1977.

A corollary assumption results from the national needs perspective. Planners treat the educational system as a means for satisfying large-scale social and economic needs. The products of the educational system are undifferentiated units of output, assumed to have essentially the same skills and qualifications throughout the system. There is no need to deal with regional, local, or individual needs in the planning process. Where these are recognized to exist, the problem is seen as primarily one of manipulating the incentive system so that on the average the choices of the individuals and localities are similar and taken all together meet the pervasive national needs. Planners are advisors to national officials, and have neither the authority nor the disposition to be overly concerned about small-scale needs which are not directly compatible with nationally prescribed policies.

On a more detailed level, planners operate on the assumption that on the whole people will do what they have been trained to do. Thus, one can set manpower targets based on economic projections, and then allocate admissions quotas, appropriate resources to various educational facilities, and come out with the needed numbers of scientists, politicians, farmers, and businessmen. Further, planners must assume that incentives can be managed so that people will want to do what the national economy needs to have them do.

Finally, planners see their role as one of analysing the situation and then providing solutions, in the form of recommendations to policy-makers. They are the experts; they have the most information; and they have the technical skills necessary to analyse the information. Hence they are logically the appropriate ones to devise solutions. While this position seems reasonable, it does raise some significant issues in the area of accountability. Barnett captures the issue well in his comment:

> "Both planning and implementation tend to be processes in which people are directed as though they were resources rather than consulted as conscious agents who have wills, desires and needs."1/

The assumption that the locus of solution generating power lies solely with the planners and the policy-makers, is increasingly coming into question today. As yet though, most planners have not really confronted this issue.

The combination of assumptions such as those outlined above, and the settings in which planning was taking place led to certain procedures and structures for planning. Because planning developed in the context of newly independent nations, it became part of the overriding needs of the new governments to take control of educational institutions which had been in the hands of a wide variety of private, religious and colonial organizations. At the same time new governments urgently needed to increase their penetration into the regions outside the capital and to establish their legitimacy in the eyes of the citizens of these new countries. In short, the new governments were trying to genuinely 'possess' the educational systems which they had inherited and to begin the process of moulding the system to meet their new needs.

1/ See for instance Barnett, A.S., "Planning and implementation : towards an 'Open' approach", in Special Issue of IDS Bulletin, entitled "The limits of planning", Vol. 8(1), pp. 41-44.

The logical process, and probably the only one available, was to begin a centralization of control and administration for the whole country. Private schools were taken over, racially segregated schools were made into open schools, examination systems were standardized, and financing procedures were regularized for all schools. Following closely behind were the planners who began devising standardized statistics, recommending management procedures, and generally moving the locus of planning and control of all formal education into the Ministry of Education. Quality of teaching staff, standards of curriculum, provision of educational materials, and all the other normal needs of schools were brought into the planning process. In many countries control was badly needed, particularly to establish and enforce minimum standards of educational quality throughout a system which was initially very uneven and erratic. Thus centralized planning was a real necessity at that point, and developed logically as the result of these needs. The fact that centralization also coincided with the need to mesh educational growth with economic development plans only served to further strengthen the process.

Underlying these two trends toward centralization was a much more basic force. All governments, and particularly new ones or ones with an insecure basis of support, have a need to control the major aspects of the societies which they govern. In developing countries education is one of the most visible sectors, and one of the few ways for governments to provide a clear response to public demand. With rapid expansion of education, financing shifted more and more to central government resources, and the combination of that with the need to provide services to new constituents, made central planning and control of education a priority. In this context decisions about the physical location of new schools or the upgrading of existing ones became an important aspect of government power to reward some communities and negotiate others into fuller co-operation with the central government.

A less visible aspect of the need for control of the system lies in the selection role which education plays. Particularly in developing societies, education plays a crucial gate-keeping role in the decision of who is going to be admitted into secondary and higher education, and thus into the modern sector of the economy. Because of the small percentage of an age-group who are going to succeed, and the relatively immense rewards for success - the educational system functions in effect as a national lottery. Yet none would argue that the process of selection is random or that all those who buy tickets, i.e. enter primary school, have anything like an equal chance. Other authors have shown persuasively the extent to which the educational system functions to insure the stability of present economic and political structures, and to carefully train and select those few who will be admitted into the élite sector. 1/ Not unsurprisingly, the system functions so that a relatively large proportion of the children of the élite are successful in gaining admission to élite status. From this perspective, then, the control of the educational system and particularly of the criteria and processes by which the gate-keeping role is carried out, is of considerable importance to those in power. Centralized planning and administration help to insure such control.

1/ See for instance Carnoy, M., Education as cultural imperialism. New York. David McKay. 1974.

This rather bald analysis is not to suggest that there is an overt conspiracy to limit access to the chosen few. The debate is more often carried out with good liberal intentions and a genuine concern about maintaining the 'quality' of the educational process. When coupled with standardized cognitive tests as the primary means of selection, and the pervasive influence of socio-economic class of parents on such test results, the effect is a substantial advantage for those already in the élite group. 1/ The process and structure are nominally open, and any student of whatever background, who can successfully meet the standards can in fact gain admission to the élite group. There is no threat to the basic system as long as the percentage of upwardly mobile students remains relatively small. When, however, restructuring the educational system and changing the locus of control threatens to substantially alter the selection process, there will emerge very powerful resistance to such changes. In the context of the newer approaches to educational planning, this opposition will be a very significant factor to be reckoned with.

1/ Ferge, Z., "The Janus faces of education" Prospects, Vol. VI(1), 1976, pp. 19-38. The author presents a fascinating analysis of how educational institutions combine technical and festive knowledge in ways which continue to ensure that primarily those from upper-class backgrounds will acquire the certification needed to enter the élite group. This process survives despite radical restructuring of educational systems, and preserves the functional selectivity in an unobtrusive way.

III. FORCES PROMOTING RECONSIDERATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL PLANNING PROCESS

Dissatisfaction with traditional approaches to educational planning is rooted in the larger atmosphere of concern over the limited success of economic development for poor countries. A general recognition of the inadequacy of focussing on national economic growth as a goal, and a movement toward concern with development now characterizes much of the work of development economists. Development is concerned with issues of equity in the distribution of costs and benefits and with the impact on the quality of life of economic growth. Particular focus is being placed on the lack of significant improvements in the poor rural sectors, particularly since the great majority of the population is to be found in the rural environment.

The debate in economic circles is accompanied by corresponding discussion of the efficacy of educational planning methods. Many planners are engaging in a reassessment of the linkages between educational activities and agricultural development. Planners are being reminded of the articulation by Mosher that education is not one of the essentials of agricultural development, but is rather what he terms an accelerator. The essentials include incentives, markets, transportation, input supplies, and appropriate research. Whereas the accelerators which include credit, group action, improved land base, and planning in addition to education, work only to the extent that the essentials are adequately provided. 1/ Without them education can in fact have a negative impact. Education must be carefully linked to the local situation with regard to the essentials, and must focus on farmers who are in fact in a position to do something with the knowledge.

Parallel to the debate on the linkages between education and other aspects of development, is an internal debate on the efficacy of the planning methods being used and the assumptions underlying them. In a provocative article Windham summarizes some of the main failings and criticisms of the methodologies used in manpower analysis, and cost/benefit approaches to educational planning. 2/ He argues that there are not only significant technical problems with the techniques, but that plans seem to have a history of non-implementation or at best marginal impact on policy-makers anyway.

1/ Watts, E.R., "The educational needs of farmers in developing countries" in Foster and Sheffield (Eds.) Education and rural development, the world yearbook of education, London, Evans Brothers, 1973, p.150. Watts quotes Mosher and then discusses the implications for the educational needs of farmers.

2/ Windham, D.M. "The macro-planning of education : why it fails, why it survives, and the alternatives", Comparative education review, Vol. 19(2) June 1975, pp. 187-201.

Policy-makers respond largely, in his view, to short-term political pressures, and particularly in developing countries have neither the security, nor the motivation to make educational allocation decisions in light of longer-term plans drawn up by the planners. Given the relatively limited efficacy of many such plans, this may well have been a blessing in disguise. In any case the result is a new questioning of whether, and if so why planning should survive in its current forms. Commenting on these issues, Psacharopoulos suggests that planning is now shifting its objectives towards such things as income distribution, employment creation, satisfaction of social demand, and doing so in the context of rural areas and the use of non-school methods of learning. 1/

A completely different set of forces for change emanates from the increasing awareness of and acceptance of national development ideologies which stress the need for a complete restructuring of the political and economic organization of society. The examples are well-known, and in some cases date back a decade or more, but only now are their philosophies beginning to receive serious consideration outside of ideologically committed groups. Perhaps most relevant are the articulations of the role of education in such new structures as portrayed by Tanzania's Ujamaa philosophy, by Peru's educational reform law, by Cuba's approach to both national literacy and the mixing of school and work in a functional manner, and, of course, the radical restructuring of education and society in China. The attempts to implement these philosophies have of course encountered major obstacles, but enough progress has been made to stimulate much dialogue and interest. External evaluation and analysis has been possible in some of the cases, and a more realistic set of expectations is gradually emerging.

The impact on planning approaches of these philosophies has been somewhat schizophrenic. On the one hand the strong emphasis on local-level participation and control has raised some basic issues about the normal top-down planning process. The use of the kumi-kumi or ten-house cell or the nucleo educativo comunal forcefully calls for the localization of planning and responsibility for implementation. In this sense these philosophies are part of the forces promoting a rethinking of educational planning processes. On the other hand, the desire for rapid and substantial structural changes dictates a strong degree of central prescription and control of the process, often leading to a proliferation of a new kind of centralized planning mechanism. However, in a positive mode, these management needs at least raise the issue of deisgning new planning mechanisms which somehow combine central control of the overall direction of development, and still promote the local participation and planning called for by the philosophy.

Complementing the development of these national ideological philosophies are the very influential ideas of a small group of thinkers who might be labelled the critics of schooling. Foremost among these are of course Ivan Illich and Paolo Freire. By taking a firm position against schools, and by implication most of the better organized non-formal educational activities, Illich highlighted the in appropriateness of traditional educational modes for development. In his view centrally planned and controlled schooling, in both curriculum and process, serves solely to reinforce the inequities in society and to make the educational consumer dependent on the modern materialistic economy.

1/ Psacharopoulos, G., "The macro-planning of education : a clarification of issues and a look into the future", Comparative Education Review Vol. 19(2), June 1975, pp. 222-224.

Freire focussed more on the psychological impact of education as normally practised, and articulated a clear conceptual framework for understanding the ways in which schooling is inherently oppressive and dehumanizing. While neither of these writers or their numerous followers deal directly with educational planning in itself, their indictment of the whole educational system must of necessity raise doubts about planning processes whose goal is to systematize, manage, and make even more efficient the existing school systems. Substantial expansion of schooling along current models is of course, anathema to either of these critics.

Both Freire and Illich stress alternatives which are based on the learners being in direct control of their own learning environment. Freire stresses the absolute necessity of the learner first achieving a level of awareness about his or her environment and understanding the forces generating the contradictions inherent in the situation. Illich places more emphasis on self-directed learning by making use of a wide variety of non-traditional learning resources. These ideas have exerted a strong appeal for a wide spectrum of professionals engaged in many different aspects of development. Anyone with serious concern about the pervasiveness of oppression and about the existence of widespread social injustice will likely have been influenced by these thinkers. Freire's philosophy in particular has raised issues which suggest some basic contradictions in the notion of one group of people planning for the lives of another, particularly when the two groups are normally separated by wide social and economic gaps.

A final important force arises out of the activities of educational planners themselves. With the publication of Coombs' World educational crisis - a systems analysis in 1968, the attention of educational planners was forcefully drawn to the very real ceiling effect being imposed on educational expansion by costs. With this factor as a starting point, the whole emphasis on the non-school or non-formal education sector began to receive serious thought and inquiry. There followed a period of intense activity centered around several trends. Some scholars worked on developing conceptual definitions and typologies for the various forms of non-school education. They were interested in systematising the field as a prelude to incorporating non-formal education into planning activities for the overall education sector. Another group based its efforts on seeking out, analysing, and writing up case studies of a wide range of examples of such programmes. From this group came a much better understanding of the potentiality of non-formal education for solving educational problems in rural settings, and for serving a variety of non-school clientèle. Continued throughout this process was an interest in the cost factors which had originally sparked interest in the area, as planners sought to understand the potential of non-formal education to provide lower-cost alternatives to formal education.

The implications of the whole out-of-school sector for educational planning remain unclear. The very nature of many such projects seems to be contradictory to the notion of systematic, centralized planning procedures. The stress on personal consciousness-raising, the spontaneous locally-responsive nature of many, the local resource utilization, and the heretofore limited scale of most, all raise issues about either the feasibility or the desirability of planning. Anderson, for instance, argues for a private non-formal education sector. For him the appropriate role for planners and government is one of developing an effective system of social signals which inform users and employers alike of

what is needed in the economy.1/ He and many others feel that to institutionalize non-formal education would be to destroy the very characteristics that make it functional and feasible. Yet, resource limitations and other factors make it unlikely that totally unmonitored development will be allowed for non-formal education. How then, should educational planning incorporate this thrust?

This section has attempted to outline some of the major forces within educational planning itself, and in the larger setting of planning for development which are causing some serious questioning of current practices. Although arising from a diverse set of sources and circumstances these forces appear to have some common themes which question the role of the planner as it has been practised in the past. Foremost among these seems to be a questioning of the centralization of planning responsibility and authority in the hands of a few professionals and policy-makers. Supporting that theme are complementary forces pushing for devolution of both power and responsibility closer to the people who will be most directly affected by educational activities. These forces are most evident in response to the failure of current approaches to make an appreciable impact on the needs of poor rural areas, and hence the increasing pressure to try alternative models.

The following section will set forth in more detail some of the alternative approaches which are being discussed currently. This in turn will set the stage for the central question of what educational planning would look like if these newer approaches were to become the basis of educational planning procedures.

1/ Anderson, C.A., "Reflections upon the planning of out-of-school education", in Ryan, J. (Ed.)., Planning out-of-school education for development, Paris, Unesco/IIEP, 1973, pp. 40-42.

IV. PLANNING AT THE LOCAL LEVEL: THE LEARNER CONTRIBUTES TO PLANNING

Educational planners have always been aware of the need to set their activities in the context of the social and political systems. From the earliest days of planning, the publications of institutions like IIEP reflect this awareness. 1/ Yet, when one analyses the techniques which have been developed and refined to increasingly sophisticated levels, one is struck by the absence of the operationalization of this awareness. One finds some generalized guidelines under the heading of Social Demands for Education, but little articulation of ways to systematically plan for it. Current dialogue in educational planning circles is now re-emphasizing the need for viewing educational planning as social research. 2/ Training courses for planners are now beginning to include methodologies for social science research into the relation between education and the social system. Even this emphasis however, is as yet unclearly linked to the actual methods of educational planning.

Among some planners, awareness has been growing of techniques and approaches developed in a related field: that of curriculum planning and development. In this field one finds a much more clearly developed set of techniques for articulating goals and objectives for education, and moving from specification of objectives to their translation into educational materials and methods. Educational planners tend to move from general goal statement to quantitative timetables for expansion of various kinds of education, with only the sketchiest of details as to what is to be learned within those educational enterprises. Curriculum developers on the other hand, focus almost exclusively on the content and process within educational institutions, and have little interest in or knowledge of how that fits into the quantitative aspects of larger societal needs.

Some planners are now beginning to ask whether or not the methods associated with curriculum development, and the related field of assessing learning needs, could not be more meaningfully

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1/ See for instance Beeby, C.E., op.cit., Poignant, R., The relation of educational plans to economic and social planning, Paris, Unesco/IIEP, 1967, and Anderson, A., The social context of educational planning. Paris, Unesco/IIEP, 1967.

2/ Weiler, H.N., "Changing concepts and practices of educational planning: implications for training". Paper presented at IIEP/SIDA Conference at IIEP, Paris, September 1976, p.3ff. See also Tibi, C., "Objectives and a model for identifying training needs". Paper for same conference, p.5ff.

integrated with the larger perspective of educational planning. For some writers, this thrust comes under the label of moving from quantity to quality in planning. For others it becomes part of the related themes of decentralization and increased participation in the planning process. Linkages are also apparent to fields such as 'basic education', 'life-long learning', and the wide range of non-formal education approaches which derive in part from the community development movement. The common theme running through all of these efforts is in part expressable as the question: To what extent, and in what ways, should the ultimate learners be a part of the planning process for their own education? An analysis of the basic components of these schools of thought will help to set the stage for the difficult task of bridging the gap between these approaches and those currently more characteristic of educational planning.

Curriculum development

Approaches to curriculum development have long incorporated means for assessing the goals of the larger society. Lewy, in a fairly representative statement of the position normally taken, articulates five sources of information for setting the learning objectives and for establishing priorities within them. They are (i) the needs of the learner, (ii) current life outside the school, (iii) subject matter specialists, (iv) psychology of learning, and (v) philosophy of education as expressed by the prevailing values in society at large. 1/ He expresses concern with the methods commonly used in curriculum development, arguing that they are often dominated by the subject matter specialists who are in reality responsible for the great bulk of the results. However, particularly in the developing world, numerous examples can be cited of curriculum goal setting exercises which draw upon the opinions of a much more representative cross-section of national opinion leaders.

Even the more representative processes however rarely involve participation by learners, their parents, community members, or even regional representatives from the more rural and less-developed areas of a country. Lewy himself makes only passing reference to the importance of the learners' perceptions of his own learning needs. Rather the learners' needs are conceived of as the gap between the current level of knowledge and ability of the learner, and desired standards set by representative national level officials. 2/

The limitations of this approach to curriculum development are increasingly being recognized by others in the field of curriculum, and derive from an awareness of the substantial irrelevance of much curriculum material to the lives of people in rural areas, and from the increased emphasis on non school modes of education. The literature now contains an extensive set of references on the topic of educational relevance and the needs of rural areas. Many argue for the 'ruralization of the curriculum' and suggest ways to go about it. Postlethwaite sets out a typology of three degrees of ruralization ranging from Form A - intensive agricultural science and rural crafts geared to the

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1/ Lewy, A., The development, evaluation and implementation of curriculum, Paris, IIEP, Seminar Paper No. 4, October 1974, p. 4.

2/ Lewy, A., ibid., p. 5.

learning of very specific rural skills, to Form B - a midway point, to Form C - regular primary school up-to-date curriculum with a general practical bias. The latter is seen as a careful combination of practical work and study of the knowledge, skills and values required by the various jobs that school leavers will be most likely to enter. 1/ Postlethwaite strongly favours Form C for reasons of equity of access to secondary school education for rural students and as a recognition of political reality. Parents in rural areas simply will not accept what they rightly perceive as 'inferior' practical-oriented curricula which discriminate against their children.

In a widely disseminated reference Louis Malassis argues in a similar vein. His final recommendation emphasizes the need to ruralize the entire educational system. 2/ The opportunities should be the same for all through a system of life-long education, both formal and non-formal. His goal is the improvement of rural opportunities for both careers and for personal development, particularly in nations where the vast majority of people are and will remain in rural settings throughout their lives.

Underlying these positions are a series of assumptions which could usefully be made explicit. First, most curriculum exercises seem to proceed from the assumption that on the whole the goals of education are basically the same for the great majority of learners in the system - usually a nation. In many situations, such an assumption seems to be required by severe resource limitations, particularly in the area of trained personnel. However, this requires making the assumption that both rural and urban learners have essentially the same needs, and that regional and local differences within rural areas are not such as to demand significantly different curriculum. 3/ On the other side of this issue one can argue that most new nations face a difficult task in building a sense of national unity, and generating widespread support for what are often recent social and political ideologies. Such needs are clearly served by a unified and largely common curriculum.

A concomitant assumption to the first one, seems to be that the specification of curriculum goals is most appropriately carried out at the national level. The process in many settings has two stages: the convening of a national curriculum group which draws national level representatives from a variety of social, political and educational institutions, followed by the work of a technical group of specialists who convert the goals and priorities generated by the first group into actual curriculum outlines. While no participant in this process would deny the need for inputs from regional or community level, participation from this level is either minimal or non existant in most cases. Some procedures do call for subsequent opportunities for discussion and critique of the resulting plan, altnough the linking of such plans with national philosophies may make it difficult for respondents who do not wish to be seen as criticising the national philosophy. When pressed, most curriculum developers will argue that local community groups are incapable of providing useful inputs to such a process anyway, at least without very extensive introductory dialogue efforts.

1/ Postlethwaite, T.N. and King, K., Curriculum development for basic education in rural areas. Paris, IIEP. Seminar Paper No. 18. October 1975, pp. 2-3. See also for instance Singleton, J. "Schools and rural development : an anthropological approach" in Foster, P. and Sheffield, J., (Eds.), Education and rural development, World Yearbook of Education, London, Evans Brothers, 1974, p. 135 ff.

2/ Malassis, L., The rural world : education and development, Paris, Unesco, 1976, p. 111.

3/ Postlethwaite, T.N. and King, K., op. cit. pp. 3-4.

Finally one should comment on the fact that virtually all such processes have taken place in the context of developing curriculum for the formal school system. The methodology and most of the experience of the technical personnel are restricted to school settings. Current interest in non-school programmes notwithstanding, current practice is based on the assumption that what worked for schools is equally appropriate - with perhaps minor modification - for the non-school sector. This limitation in experience and approach may prove to be a significant problem as planners move toward planning integrated learning systems for rural areas.

Learning needs assessment

Growing in part out of the limitations of the curriculum development approach is a focus directly on learning needs. Many critics, bothered by the irrelevance of national curricular goals and materials at the local level have come to believe, in the words of Jinapala Alles, that :

> "It is critical to identify, however crudely, empirically or otherwise, the actual learning wants as seen by the community and the learners at a given point in time. Such eliciting of actual wants would be a major step as compared with the general practice, often adopted now, of 'imputing' learning needs to the learners."1/

Furthermore, he stresses the need to become much more concerned with the achievement of competencies to function in life situations outside the classroom, rather than gaining skills primarily suited to the needs of further formal schooling. This double emphasis on life-related skills, and the essentiality of the learner's own perspective, form the basic assumptions of the learning needs approach.

However, in reality, workers in the area of learning needs vary considerably in the extent to which they in fact desire or are able to make use of the learner participation in determining goals. Statements of learning needs for rural development have a long history in educational design and can be traced back at least fifty years to the reports of the Phelps-Stokes commissions sent to Africa in the 1920s. These reports recommend four basic education areas: home life, health, agriculture and industrial skills and recreation. These basics were to permeate the teaching of all subjects and were to be taught within the context of a basic sense of community consciousness. These reports were based on extensive travel in Africa, and were derived from discussions with education officials at all levels, and a reasonable representation of community level people. 2/

Jumping to the present, and to a list of needs derived from analysis of a large number of case studies of non-formal education projects, one finds a strikingly parallel result. Coombs, in his much quoted set of minimum essential learning needs for rural youth stresses: basic education - literacy and numeracy; family improvement education; community improvement education; and occupational education. 3/ Other international commissions, national commissions, and development

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1/ Alles, J., A first step in the identification of learning priorities, Paris, Unesco. Notes, Comments . . . No. 6, March 1975, p. 2. Underlining is part of the original quotation.

2/ Phelps-Stokes Reports on education in Africa. Abridged with an introduction by Lewis, L. J., London, Oxford University Press, 1962. See pp. 52-54 for discussion of goals. An outline of the methods, including the types of people consulted is contained in the introduction, pp. 4-5.

3/ Coombs, P., Attacking rural poverty, Baltimore, The John Hopkins Press, 1974, p. 15.

specialists have produced similar lists. The commonality in such lists grows out of the undeniable fact that poor rural people in all parts of the world face essentially the same basic problems. These common problems give rise to common sets of learning needs when analysed at this general level of detail. Such categories are useful in setting the general framework for rural learning needs, and for discussing general development efforts. However, all lack the degree of specificity that would make them operational, and more importantly, they lack clear criteria for making priority choices about what to stress in any particular setting.

Similar to the dissatisfactions with the curricular approach outlined above, are the criticisms of these general listings of learning needs. In both cases, the needs are derived from large-scale analysis of problems in a wide variety of settings, which brings one full circle back to the issue of learner participation in the determination of needs, and the inherent weaknesses of sets of learning needs specified for large groups of learners in common. Recent work by Jinapala Alles in Unesco attempts to bridge the gap between macro- and micro-level learning needs by means of life-skills objectives. 1/ As the previous quotation from his work indicates he firmly believes in the crucial necessity of learner participation in the needs assessment process. He also has enough field experience to realize that in practice some sort of mixed strategy is necessary, which combines statements from the highest level socio-political authorities and participation in some degree by the members of the learning community.

His proposed methodology, based on previous experience with a similar system in Sri Lanka, depends on the use of a fairly comprehensive set of categories of life-skills objectives. These categories can then be broken down into more specific learning objectives. He envisions the process taking place at various levels, including communities. Specific communities may only elect to work with certain categories, depending on local priorities. Whatever their choice they would then proceed to specification of objectives and setting of priorities among those objectives. Alles sees such a process as ongoing, being revised periodically as needs and perceptions change. As he himself admits, the current scheme is probably a bit too technical for use with untrained participants, but he maintains his belief that "specialists are not the sole 'guardians' of these questions, nor are they the 'oracles' who supply the best answers to them." 2/ For him, the active participation by multiple publics is essential to effective specification of learning needs. A major advantage of this approach lies in the presentation to learning groups of a wide range of possibilities from which to choose. Under appropriate circumstances, this could lead to effective dialogue and a much better list than is probable if one merely asks learners what their needs are.

Community development approaches

As some readers will have already recognized, real community involvement in the generation of learning needs has direct parallels in the philosophy and techniques evolved over the years by workers in the field of community development. Two points of view within community development merge together at this point to form a relevant set of experiences for educational planning. The first is the more traditional community development process which relies fairly heavily on the intervention of a trained outsider. The second is a more recent emphasis on the self-help aspect of community development.

1/ Alles, J., op. cit.

2/ Alles, J., ibid, p. 7.

with emphasis being placed on the psychological state of the people and their beliefs about their own efficacy. The assumptions underlying both of these strands provide a basis for understanding some of the problems which will face a planner genuinely interested in participatory planning.

Early work in community development was based on a number of assumptions which in the light of today's experience seem somewhat overly romantic, but which are still part of many people's thinking. Brokensha and Hodge list a number of these assumptions including beliefs that: (a) communities are good inherently, (b) communities have a unity and shared interests and therefore co-operation is natural for them, (c) everyone desires a higher standard of living and welcomes change, and (d) the 'felt needs' of a community exist and can be discovered by cross-examination - in order to find out 'what people really think'. 1/ All of these assumptions sound attractive but contain an element of unreality, which can lead to serious flaws if used as a basis for developing programmes for rural areas. Particularly relevant to issues of educational planning are the assumptions about shared interests in a community and the existence of 'felt needs' which can be discovered.

To some extent these two assumptions seem to underlie the learning needs approach. Planners will, using some appropriate method, assess the commonly held learning needs of a community and then incorporate them into an educational plan for the region. In reality, there are a number of problems with this approach. Communities are divided, more often than not, with different parts of the community having quite different goals and needs. The community may not be able to articulate any 'felt needs' or may have many contradictory ones. There will likely be considerable economic and power disparities within the community, and development activities are likely to exacerbate these disparities rather than reduce them, unless unusual steps are taken. Finally, the learning needs approach generally assumes that some external agent is carrying out the process of assessing needs and then initiating plans to meet them. The community is participating, but as the passive partner. The planning process is 'owned' by the planners and not by the community members.

Current approaches to community development are more aware of some of these limitations, and place more emphasis on the growth of individuals and their ability to work together to solve their own problems. Coombs describes the new thrust as being based on a more humanistic and less technocratic theory of development. 2/ Often set in nations whose ideology stresses self-help or self-reliance, these programmes reject the more authoritarian aspects of the community development approach and place reliance on a broad form of personal growth. Drawing heavily on Freirean-style methods the programmes believe that personal growth derives from a process of analysis, action and reflection on that action. The process is slower, and the criteria for success are weighted heavily in favour of the personal growth of the participants and less toward the accomplishment of specific development projects.

1/ Brokensha, D. and Hodge, P., Community development : an interpretation. San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Co., 1969, pp. 21-22. The assumptions listed here are paraphrased from a somewhat longer list contained in the original reference.

2/ Coombs, P., op. cit. p. 66.

The assumptions underlying the self-help approach include the perceptions that: (i) rural development involves a thorough transformation of institutions, processes, and relationships in rural society, (ii) that the obstacles to such a transformation are the dependency and lack of self-confidence of traditional rural people, (iii) that an educational process to combat these problems must include greater political awareness, more participation and strengthened rural leadership, and (iv) that external expertise should be used only as part of a community initiated and controlled process and not as a one-way intervention from the top down. 1/ This approach is basically a psychological one which centers on individuals and relies upon changing attitudes and behaviours as the basic key to development.

Critics of this approach would argue that the problems in the rural areas are primarily the result of social, economic and political structures in the larger national setting. Real rural development can only take place with significant changes in this structure, and particularly in the economic relationships between the rural producing areas and the modern, urban sector which consumes their produce and allocates surplus production to the modern sector. For these critics focussing on personalistic, individual characteristics fail to deal with the root causes of the problem. Community development workers would in some cases respond in partial agreement, but feel that significant pressures for change can only come from pressures exerted by a 'conscious' and active population which understands the basis of the exploitation and which can form groups to demand structural changes.

Non-formal education approaches

Incorporated under the general approach to community development are many of the currently fashionable non-formal education approaches. Typical of the better known ones are the animation rurale movement in Francophone Africa, India's long history of Community Development efforts, and a wide variety of efforts in Latin America which focus on action-based education using adaptations of Freire's Método Psycho Social. To a greater or lesser extent all of these approaches stress community participation in the definition of problems, needs and strategies for meeting those needs. These programmes form the implementation component of the educational planning process for the non-school sector. Yet, for the most part such programmes take place almost entirely outside of existing planning procedures used by planning units in the Ministries of Education.

Wood characterizes planning in this sector as primarily taking place on a 'shock absorber' basis. 2/ Many projects originate as a response to a limited problem of current concern. Unrest caused by unemployed primary school leavers leads to a plan to provide skills training for them; or a non-governmental organization decides to mount a specific programme for women of child-bearing age in a certain location. Initially such programmes give little thought to integration into larger regional efforts, and fail to understand the crucial problem of what the graduates of the programme are

1/ Coombs, P. op. cit. p. 66. Paraphrased from the original list presented by Coombs.

2/ Wood, A. W., "Developing educational alternatives", in Foster, P. and Sheffield, J. (Eds.) Education and rural development, World yearbook of education, 1974, London, Evans Brothers Ltd., p. 138.

going to do with their skills. Only after such programmes have gained momentum and some local recognition do they tend to receive attention from planners. When planners do attempt to incorporate such programmes into larger schemes, there is often little understanding of the key characteristics which form the basis of their success.

Wood argues convincingly that success for such localized training projects results only after a slow period of natural evolution from a focus on training, to a focus on integrated development where local production, training and village-level organisation occur together. He cites several examples of successful projects which worked precisely because they were based on a close rapport with local realities, upon involvement of various sectors of the community, and because they were evolved slowly away from a primary focus on training to a broader focus on integration with village development. 1/ When really effective, such programmes tend to be self-spreading as neighbouring communities learn about the process and decide to organise themselves. This genuine self-initiation works best when sponsorship is non-governmental and when external resource inputs are kept at a relatively low level. Under these circumstances, people realize that they themselves are responsible, rather than being involved in a dependency-creating process of organising to seek major infusions of resources from the central government. The crucial question thus becaomes "How can planning for rural development be carried out so as to facilitate such a process rather than impede it?".

This brief summary of the assumptions and the current activities of four related strands of educational effort has attempted to highlight the methods which emphasize more extensive learner involvement in the process of planning education. Two competing directions of flow seem to be present in all of the strands. Historically, both the curriculum procedures and the learning needs approach have placed major emphasis on centralised, top-down sorts of methods. However, both also contain within their methods rhetoric and some procedures for getting inputs from learners, and for facilitating a bottom-up flow of information. In both cases, the most recent trends are toward greater emphasis on participation at lower levels in the educational system. The learning needs approach is particularly active now in attempting to devise feasible methods of getting genuine learner involvement in the process of setting learning objectives.

Both curriculum and learning needs however face serious methodological and practical limitations in involving learners more directly. Curriculum is faced with the practical difficulties of having more than one set of materials in settings where resources are often inadequate to produce and distribute even one set. Schemes to produce framework curricula within which various localities can adapt and modify exist, but the means for carrying out such a strategy do not seem near at hand. Although more attempts will be made to validate the usefulness of curricula with users, the immediate prospects are for continued development in national institutes, or appropriate sections of the national ministry. Curriculum development for non-school settings is likely to continue taking place primarily in situ with heavy emphasis on trial and error approaches. Some sort of a merger of the two approaches may be possible, but will require new efforts and new conceptual models.

1/ Wood, A. W., op. cit. p. 140.

Learning needs approaches face even more difficult problems in generating meaningful participation by local learners. Most of the current ideas are largely conceptual or at best in pilot testing stages. There also appear to be some significant conceptual problems in the whole concept of participation. Further discussion of this will take place in the following section of the paper. Because of the attractiveness of its rhetoric, learning needs run an even greater risk than curriculum in failing to deliver an appropriate product. The risk is well worth taking, but conscious awareness of the difficulties should be present in the minds of planners relying on this approach.

In contrast the community development and the non-formal education strands start primarily from a bottom-up approach. Here too though, there are competing trends and some history of centralized top-down implementation. This is particularly true of large scale community development efforts as practised in places like India. The operational difficulty of finding, training and supporting village level workers who have the abilities and the patience required for truly participative efforts is considerable. Personal and group growth processes do not lend themselves to centralized timetables, national and regional bureaucratic systems, and vertical lines of authority. The setting of targets, timetables and other administrative procedures may not mesh well with the unpredictable progress of village groups. The essence of the issue is captured by the statement:

> "The rationality of clear ends and distinct means is really an ex post facto rationality; . . .
> There is in such a construct all the logical value a simple and idealized structure has; but as an account of how man psychologically approaches, or even frames, problems it is woefully inadequate. Individuals - at all levels of intellectuality - approach their problems much more in the manner of a man stumbling (sometimes quite skilfully) 'from pillar to post', than in the manner of a man working with clear blue prints in hand." 1/

Current practitioners of community development are much more aware of the slow evolutionary process which is required. To this extent they share characteristics with the type of non-formal education programme discussed above. Most such programmes are small, locally-based, often sponsored by non-governmental groups, and rarely part of larger planning processes. Current trends for these programmes, or at least the more successful ones, center around questions of generalization and implementation with much larger populations. How can a good programme idea be expanded and applied to many groups simultaneously? How can the essential participatory aspects be maintained in the face of governmental needs for control of financing, sequenced planning and early visible results? Can the two directions of information flow and control be successfully merged?

1/ Doll, W.E., "A methodology of experience - an alternative to behavioural objectives", in Educational Theory, Vol. 22(3), Summer 1972.

V. SOME CONCEPTUAL ISSUES: PARTICIPATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

In reviewing the traditional approaches to educational planning, the current forces which lead to a questioning of those procedures, and the approaches which emphasize learner involvement in planning, two general concepts are conspicuously present: participation and decentralization. Much confusion seems to surround the use of these terms, and considerable lack of clarity accompanies discussions in which one or the other term is the central topic. Both terms seem to function as pseudo variables lending a false sense of precision to discussions. Probing of the positions taken by various individuals will often reveal quite different interpretations of the meanings of the terms. Thus this section will attempt to clarify the primary meanings as they apply to educational planning, and more concretely to outline the conditions under which a particular meaning is likely to be operative.

Part of the confusion derives from a legitimate difference in goals when using the terms. Participation, self-help, self-reliance and rural mobilization are often part of the language of a national ideology. The words become general symbols for a particular philosophy of development. These words stand for processes which are intended to lead to a more democratic, egalitarian and equitable society. The use of the terms is part of a political process for general consciousness raising, mobilization of support for the government and its policies, and the legitimization of the process. When such words are used by planners and civil servants however, the vague and heavily value-laden aspects of the terms become a detriment to clear thinking, and a severe hindrance to realistic planning. Operationalizing the meaning of terms like participation, and dissecting the hidden realities in phrases like decentralization become a prerequisite to effective planning and implementation.

Participation

Rather than seek a single definition of 'participation' this discussion will attempt to clarify issues surrounding different kinds of participation. Writing in a recent OECD report on participatory planning Hayward seeks to distinguish between participation in planning and a more thoroughly integrated participatory planning process. For him the latter is defined as the:

> "...organisation of a sustained social process characterized by an increasing engagement in policy and autonomy in action for the individuals lowest in the organisational scale."1/

The implications of such a process include at their root the belief that the individual should have a major responsibility for his or her own learning, and for controlling as far as possible the means for achieving that learning. These statements form a normative ideal which can be taken as defining the direction in which participative planning should be moving.

On a more practical level participation might be seen as taking at least three forms. First, there is what might be called nominal participation, where the structural forms for participation exist, and groups may even meet under the general rubric of a representative process. Analysis of what happens in such meetings may indicate that no effective communication upward is in fact taking place.2/ Often such representative bodies become platforms for speeches by leaders and visiting dignitaries and result solely in a passive, recipient type of participation.

A second type of participation could be labelled consultative and is characterized by procedures whereby decision-makers seek advice and suggestions from various parties. Such interchanges are characterized by complete control of the process by the decision-maker. The initiative in seeking advice, the selection of the sources, and the extent to which, if at all, the resulting inputs will be used are all firmly in the hands of the decision-maker.3/ Such consultative participation can be valuable, but unless it is part of required procedures, happens only when decision-makers feel sufficiently secure in their positions and when they see value in the process. Consultation takes considerable time and resources which the decision-maker may feel would be better spent in other activities. This is particularly true where the decision-maker feels that he has most of the needed information already, and his past experience indicates that inputs from consultation seldom result in significant new information. Of course, this perspective ignores the potential value of the consultation in increasing the information and understanding of the participants.

The third level can be characterized as responsible participation where the opportunity to discuss issues, exert influence on behalf of one or another alternative, to vote, and finally to know by what process the final decision was reached, all overlap. Participants in such a process are therefore fully aware of the alternatives, and normally will feel some commitment to decisions reached by

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1/ Hayward, B., "The participatory planning process for education" in Participatory planning in education, Paris, OECD, 1974, p. 18.

2/ Chambers, R., Managing rural development : ideas and experience from East Africa. Uppsala, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1974, p. 88ff. The author provides a good description of what happens in many development committee meetings. He outlines causes related to committee size and to level of representation present.

3/ McCrae, G.C., Participatory planning in education, Paris, IIEP, Occasional Paper No. 36, 1974, p. 21.

the process. Many would argue that the effects of involvement in such a process may in fact be more important than the details of the particular plan arrived at. Particularly for non-formal education and for mobilizing local resources in rural areas, this last and most difficult to achieve form of participation is also the most desirable.

In analysing types of participation, another perspective can be used to complement the scheme just presented. In effect, one asks three questions: Who is participating? What institutions are being used as vehicles? and What or whose objectives are primary in the process? 1/ The problem of who is participating is perhaps the key issue for those whose primary interest in participatory structures lies in the belief that increased participation will result in a more equitable society. As an antidote to this position Chambers bluntly states that:

> "The tendency for local élites to capture projects and programmes and use them for their own benefit should indeed be recognized as a fact of life." 2/

He goes on to cite a wide variety of examples in rural development projects where participatory planning works primarily to benefit the influential and better off, and provides lesser benefits to the more needy, or may even make them relatively worse off. Unless realistic appraisals of situations are made and great care taken, participation in planning means plans drawn up primarily by local civil servants together with a few members of the local élite. The result of participation is all too often appropriation and privilege for the few when translated into action in the field.

The major role played by civil servants in most planning processes has both pros and cons. In the most desirable situations their participation is important since both their co-operation and the resources at their disposal may be needed. In addition, with appropriate support such activities function as training for civil servants and gradually increase capabilities at the local level to plan and implement programmes more effectively. On the other hand, many civil servants are neither local residents nor are they particularly knowledgeable about the local setting. Governmental practices of regular rotation of staff can have strong negative consequences when perpetually 'new' staff must carry out plans made by last year's 'new' staff. Under those circumstances, building competence among a diverse set of local residents would seem to be essential.

In analysing the institutional structures for participation the central issue is the extent to which such structures promote effective two-way communication. As readers with any experience with school committees, citizens advisory groups, or various kinds of development committees will know, the gap between intentions and reality can be large. Several factors seem to strongly influence the actual functioning of such groups. The composition of the group is of course central in determining the type of activity. Composition in turn depends heavily on the level of the body; the closer the body is to the actual learners the more likely it is to be composed of those at the lowest level of the organization and the more likely there will be an actual interchange of ideas and perspectives. The larger the area covered by the body, the more it will of necessity be composed of representatives of the affected groups, and the more likely that it will provide a format primarily for top-down communication and more formalized types of response by the representatives.

1/ Paraphrased from Chambers, R., op. cit. p. 85.

2/ Ibid. p. 109.

A related factor of equal importance lies in the procedures which govern the operation of the group. Procedures must be established which protect the interests of minority or divergent viewpoints. Care must be taken to offset the tendency, described above, of local elites to capture the group and use procedure, traditional status roles, and superior information access to dominate the body. The legitimacy of viewpoints based on personal experience, and individual values must be preserved in the face of more traditional criteria linked to formal education or economic status. Often, achieving this goal will require supervision and occasional intervention from higher levels of authority as well as providing clear guidelines for operation at the outset. 1/

The third question deals with objectives. This category overlaps heavily with issues of centralization and decentralization which will be treated at more length in the following section. At this point one need only note that the basic issue remains the same: the balance in functioning between a bottom-up and a top-down communications process. Chambers suggests a series of possible goals such as: making known local wishes, providing local knowledge, testing proposals from above, increasing community management skills, demonstrating support for the regime, carrying out government goals, and extracting local resources. 2/ Care must be taken in assessing what the real objectives of any organization are. Stated more analytically, rhetoric of intentions may or may not reflect real intent, and certainly often differs from functional reality. Care should equally be taken not to judge too quickly. Implementation of new ideas necessarily requires a long period of training, of trial and error, and of slow growth in the competencies required to achieve the desired type of participation.

Finally, a word should be said about the cost of participation. The previous discussion has alluded to a number of ways in which the actual process of participation can degenerate into the most passive forms of nominal participation and can work contrary to goals of increased equity. Planners should also be aware of the very heavy time demands made by participation, and the wide range of new skills required of leaders and administrators. Fully participative planning will be achieved only as a result of a long training and growth process. At any point in time the optimal forms of participation will be a function of the stage of development of an area and the competencies present in the administrative structure. Planners will need to assess more realistically the costs and benefits of participation, and work with policy-makers to select those areas of educational decision-making most appropriate for different levels of participation. A number of specific conditions are necessary for responsible participation. Since there is a heavy overlap with conditions associated with decentralization, discussion of these conditions will be deferred until after a brief look at the issue of decentralization.

Decentralization

"Upon reflection, it would seem that the idea of decentralization, like that of participation, is too general and politically charged a concept to help us discover what we intend to make happen in education that may be different from its present practices." 3/

1/ Chambers, R., op. cit. p. 94. The author presents a set of criteria for more effective committee structure.

2/ Ibid. pp. 85-86.

3/ Ziegler, W. L., "Planning as action : techniques of inventive planning workshops", in Participatory planning in education, Paris. OECD. 1974, p. 377.

The literature on decentralization is extensive and as Ziegler indicates in the above quotation the term often serves more to confuse than illuminate the key issues. As in the case of participation, a closer look is needed at the criteria for assessing various forms of decentralization and explicating the kinds of situations which lead to desirable decentralization from a planning point of view.

Duvieusart, drawing on legal literature, makes the distinction between deconcentration and decentralization. 1/ Deconcentration involves the delegation of decision-making power to government servants who remain hierarchically subordinate to the central authority. This delegation to regional or local civil servants does not involve the creation of new policy-making groups or institutions which are autonomous in relation to the central authority.

In contrast, decentralization means delegating powers of decision-making to bodies other than those which remain mere agents of central authority. Decentralization thus transfers a real decision making role to autonomous institutions at regional or local levels. This suggests possible linkages with the types of participation previously discussed: deconcentration tends to place local officials in the role of consultant participation, whereas decentralization tends to put local officials and in some cases the clients in the role of responsible participation. The test of the distinction comes in cases of conflict between central and local decision-makers. Deconcentrated systems leave the ultimate resolution in the hands of the central authorities who may or may not agree with opinions put forth by local officials with whom they have consulted. In a decentralized system, decisions are made at the local level using their own criteria for judgement.

In reality, such clearly drawn distinctions tend to be blurred. Duvieusart argues that study of actual systems often reveals an evolutionary process. What begins as deconcentration, can come in time to behave, at least in some areas of decision-making, as decentralization. Deconcentration leads to consultation at local levels, the gradual formation of pressure groups and then the state is forced to respond in some way - often by incorporating representatives of such groups into advisory bodies. These in turn can gradually acquire power and influence, until they become a significant force to whom some real power may be delegated. Understanding both participation and decentralization as a gradual process is both realistic in practice, and desirable as a goal of planning. Individuals and institutions require time and experience to acquire the skills and procedures which are necessary for functional alternatives to centralized planning and administration.

As in the case of participation, the question of the purpose of decentralization needs discussion and analysis. Stated rationales for decentralization range from needs to increase effectiveness of bureaucracies which become too large, to a desire to mobilize local citizens for development, to a need to generate local resources for schools and teachers, to a need for more effective control in distant regions. As always intent and effect may diverge significantly. A recent analysis of four years experience with a new "decentralized" structure in the Ministry of Education in Venezuela, illustrates one aspect of the problem. While the structure has been successfully changed, the behaviours of the individuals within it remain more appropriate to the old structure. Only a small degree of deconcentration has taken place, with regional offices only being empowered to carry out staff activities to support

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1/ Duvieusart, B., "Staff training in a period of change in the administration of educational systems". Paper presented at IIEP/SIDA Seminar at IIEP September 1976, pp. 4-5.

decisions which are still taken at the centre.1/ However, the author does see hope for gradual evolution of deconcentration as the system enters what he feels is a second stage in a lengthy process of reform. Clearly a realistic time horizon for the beginnings of decentralization will, at this pace, be some years in the future.

Decentralization of decision-making and planning is often a central component of national philosophies for reform and development. The rhetoric of the national ideology relies heavily on decentralized participation as a legitimizing basis for government activities. Yet, particularly at the initial stages of implementing a new philosophy of mobilization, governments face a real dilemma. Merely devolving power to local levels will almost always result in control by the existing elites and a perpetuation of inequalities and past forms of social organization. Real change is possible only if decentralization passes power to those who are fully imbued with an effective understanding of the central elements of the philosophy - in short to educated party members. At this stage then, the real goal is effective control from the centre of the process of reform at the local level. The emphasis is on appropriate thinking and on actions consistent with the national philosophy. The goal is clearly an effective deconcentration of power with the primary task being to educate new participants in the new philosophy. The centre wants and must retain full control of the process. At later stages, when sufficient numbers of aware officials exist and are in control of local processes, relaxation of central control can begin, and early stages of decentralization may be allowed to appear.

Critical observers of 'decentralization' programmes in educational planning and administration will therefore rightly argue that term is being used as a legitimizing piece of rhetoric to cover a reality of deconcentration to produce more effective central control of activities in local areas. The desirability of such procedures is a value judgement based on the observer's feelings about the goals of the central government. From a planning point of view, one can note the training effects of the strategy. Tight central control promotes behaviours which are essentially dependent in nature on the part of officials, and the most ritualistic forms of nominal participation on the part of the people. If the government genuinely wants to move toward the forms of participation, then at the appropriate moment procedures must shift in the direction of decentralization and away from deconcentration. As already indicated, this is a long painful process full of many errors and excesses as local officials and people learn to handle new powers in responsible ways.

A third motivation for decentralization in educational activities often has to do with resources. Governments are faced with real financial ceilings on budgets and therefore seek to generate and to manage a wide range of local resources as a means of expanding educational activities. Generating local resources is particularly relevant to the lowest levels of primary schooling and to the many forms of non-school education. In this area there are some real alternatives: policies can promote a primarily extractive approach where resources are in effect taxed away from the locals under the guise of self-help, and in fact are merely ways of increasing the budget of the local administration; or policies can facilitate the growth of genuine self-reliance where control of the resources generated remains in the hands of local groups. The latter strategy requires a more sophisticated administration,

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1/ Hanson, M., "Decentralization and regionalization in the Ministry of Education : the Case of Venezuela", International Review of Education, Vo. XXII (2). 1976 pp. 173 ff.

and a much greater tolerance for ambiguity, and for competing diverse interests. Planning officials in particular will have to learn to incorporate new criteria in their planning rationales. Responsible participation may come at the expense of some aspects of rational, economic efficiency.

The understanding by planners of the meaning and the forms of decentralization will have to become much more realistic. Planners will have to shift their roles from one of designing complete systems with all the answers provided, to designing processes for learning and growth as people move from nominal to responsible participation. The basis of such an understanding lies partially in beginning to analyse the conditions under which such growth is possible and probable. Some suggestions about necessary conditions are set forth in the next section.

Facilitating conditions for responsible participation

> "A more 'powerful' plan, increasingly co-ordinated and offering more detailed solutions to problems, limits the character of grass-roots participation. .....the plan can contribute toward a centralizing tendency or it can serve the purpose of creating a framework within which participation can be made more viable. 1/

The conditions which determine which of these tendencies will prevail can be usefully discussed under the headings of power, values, and organizational structure. The discussion will be necessarily brief and therefore more exemplary than comprehensive. One of the major tasks facing those responsible for training educational planners, will be to understand and to articulate a clearer model of the processes and conditions which will cause movement toward responsible participation.

The basic issue in any system is of course the distribution of power, or the locus of control. In educational systems there would appear to be two sorts of power: that resulting from control over the allocation of resources such as schools, teaching jobs, and materials; and the more implicit form of power resulting from the basic role of formal education as the selection device which decides who is admitted to what parts of the society. In the latter sense, power is the control by certain groups of the criteria and methods by which the school system allocates alternative futures among competing pupils. Increased participation in the planning and control of education of necessity means increasing the power of groups whose current level of power is low or non-existent. No-one will be surprised when those who currently hold major power positions object to the inclusion of others whose goals may be in conflict with theirs. 2/

In non-formal educational activities power is likely to center more around the use of resources since such activities generally lack the social selection role. Although conflict can arise precisely because some want such activities to move in the direction of acquiring such a role, or of facilitating entry into the formal system.

1/ Hayward, B., op. cit. p. 21.

2/ OECD Secretariat, "Review of the conference" in Participatory planning in education, Paris, OECD, 1974, p. 41. Some planners feel that the distribution of power in planning should not be viewed as zero-sum game, where increase in power of one group much necessarily be at the expense of another group. The whole field of power may rather be expanded for all.

The sharing of power is rarely done willingly. Two sources of initiative to induce the sharing of power would seem to exist: central leadership which for reasons of ideology or the need to build a broad political base of support may promote the sharing of at least some kinds of power; and conflict and subsequent negotiation by groups who are dissatisfied with the current distribution of power. One of the difficulties faced by leaders and planners in the first alternative is finding competent and effective leaders and groups to whom power can be devolved effectively. It is precisely this problem which makes the process a long and painful one until individuals and groups gain sufficient experience to reach a level of competence where the process is likely to produce a better set of educational responses to the needs of the people.

Thus an important condition for the effective distribution of power is an educational training process, not normally of an institutional kind, which gradually provides experience and help to both government officials and to private groups as they learn to handle power responsibly. As Chambers well describes the experience with development committees in Eastern Africa, the design problem is a delicate one of balance between too much control and too much freedom. Very strict central control of finances and programmes inhibits local action and encourages evasion and rule bending. Too much freedom leads to corruption and to distortion of allocations in favour of the more developed areas. Excesses in either direction lead to re-examination of the process and often its cancellation before sufficient growth has taken place. Growth must be organic and must have time to evolve within the context of balanced degrees of control and freedom. 1/

A parallel way of describing the process conceives of a shift from control-level planning toward action-level planning. Action-level planning takes place at or close to the constituents who are the actual participants in the learning process, whether pupils in school, adults in skill training, or community learning groups. As always, the problem is to do this in a way which promotes balanced participation in the planning across the community, and inhibits the tendency of the local élites to capture the process. Initially, clear guidelines and some degree of central control may be necessary to ensure effective participation by the less powerful parts of the community.

The values which underlie planning processes may well be in conflict with values underlying responsible participation. Typical planning procedures are based on values such as consistency, coherence, efficiency, and maximizing the economic productivity of the system. 2/ The whole set of planning techniques are imbued with the Western sense of rationality and with optimization of systems along economic lines. Planners therefore operate to collect systematic information, to create overall plans, and to program details in a rational process which is systematic and predictable. The fact that these plans are often severely transformed by 'political' decision-makers has in no way diminished the attachment of planners to these values.

1/ Chambers, R. op. cit. pp. 88-100.

2/ OECD Secretariat, op. cit. p. 45. Paraphrased from a more extensive list offered there.

In contrast, participation is based on the value premises of diversity, of equal valuation of individual and group positions, and on the right for divergent values to be given equal consideration in the formation of educational plans. Particularly in regard to the treatment of minority groups and cultures within larger dominant cultures, the value position is emerging that people have the right to control their own fate as individuals, whatever their status, and the right to exercise significant influence over the fate of the society to which they belong. 1/

Planners are of course already familiar with the need to plan on the basis of other than economic criteria. In dealing with regional disparities plans often involve relatively costly development in areas with low populations. Similarly, if participation is to become a genuine outcome of the planning process then criteria for judging a plan and its results will have to shift away from specific targets and results and toward an open system which specifies ranges of possible results. Planners will have to learn to tolerate much more ambiguity, more flexibility in time lines, and be ready to accept a role which is more one of guiding a process than one of prescribing the specific goals. Planners must come to value their ability to teach others to plan. Success should be measured in terms of the amount and quality of participation which the planners' activity generates on the part of others.

While one can specify with relative ease the basic values involved in participatory process, the question of specific organizational structures which will promote participation has received relatively little study. A recent OCED seminar did highlight some of the areas that seem to require attention in the design of participatory organizations. These included the locus of control of goals, resources, and procedures; forms and procedures for representation, and restructuring of the direction of accountability in the hierarchy. 2/ In reality the locus of control issue is a matter of shared control at various levels. The degree of control and the range of areas over which control exists at local levels rather than regional or central levels, is a possible indicator of the degree of responsible participation in the structure. Realistic strategies for movement toward more participation will proceed in steps gradually opening new decision areas such as resources, personnel, planning, to access by the lowest levels of the organization. In the terms previously discussed, this is the process of deconcentration followed by increasing decentralization.

All participatory processes above the most local level will have to rely on some form of representation. This little examined area is probably the key design variable in planning participatory organizations. Many questions suggest themselves. How can one provide adequate amounts of representation and yet maintain workable-sized groups? How should representatives be selected? How does one insure that representatives are answerable to their groups and not to centralized hierarchies? How can sufficient motivation and interest be generated to get effective representation? What kinds of representative bodies combine representation with effective productivity? Evidence and experience exist with many different types of representative systems around the world, but planners are normally unfamiliar with the characteristics of different models. Effective participatory planning procedures will require much more application of knowledge from social psychology concerning the dynamics of individuals and groups.

1/ OECD Secretariat, op. cit. p. 46.

2/ OECD Secretariat, ibid, pp. 51-56

Participatory procedures do not imply the doing away with hierarchy, but do imply a significant change in who is accountable to whom and for what. In fully participatory organizations, accountability should flow from the top to the bottom. Centralized administration and regional bodies would come to be viewed as 'belonging' to the lowest levels of the system, and therefore as accountable to them. In particular the higher levels of organization would be accountable for creating and maintaining the support mechanisms required for effective participation. Hayward suggests several essential support activities. 1/ The primary one is a network of communication which will facilitate a much wider sharing of information. An important part of support would be the identification and promotion of group formation, group awareness and means of group expression - all of which is another way of stating the representation issue. Emphasis should be on open consultation procedures which promote interactive communication, rather than one-way, extractive communications or interaction in non-public settings with group representatives.

A little discussed aspect of power and participation is the central role played by access to information. McCrae argues convincingly that:

> "Participation cannot be expected to work if some of the participants have more information than others. .....A participatory system, to be a success, depends on the administrators being prepared to share the information on which their power is based." 2/

A corollary consequence of open sharing of information must be the realization that different groups will interpret the information differently. The real purpose of participation is to bring these natural differences out and find by argument and debate the greatest degree to which they can be merged. These differences must be accepted as legitimate and as a source of strength, not as lack of support and improper thinking which must be corrected. When everyone agrees with the central administration, groups will legitimately feel that their representatives have been co-opted by participation. In new nations with new governments, achieving this level of tolerance is of course a long-term goal, but it should be the ultimate goal of responsible participation.

Finally, the central organization must provide support for deviation, must nurture innovations, and must provide redress for local situations which have been captured by one or another power group. As just indicated, differences are legitimate and represent true differences in local situations, local needs and local aspirations. Central authorities must enforce rules and procedures which protect dissent and which provide avenues of appeal from local inequity. Weaker elements in communities must be assured of representation and support. The planning task is to design and maintain such procedures without reverting to the completely directive centralized organization.

Specific management procedures need to be worked out for both planning and supporting these processes. Effort is specially needed in the management of non-school educational sector. How do governments on the one hand stimulate local self-help projects in education, and on the other manage the diversity which results? How do these efforts get merged effectively with the more structured formal system? Chambers suggests a number of simply management procedures for self-help efforts based on experience with rural agricultural programmes. 3/ These procedures are characterized by simplicity, by relatively rapid response to needs, and by decision-making which is

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1/ Hayward, B., op cit. pp. 20-21.
2/ McCrae, G.C, op. cit. pp. 24-25.
3/ Chambers, R., op. cit. pp. 105-108.

close to the action level. He suggests that the degree of control be directly related to the complexity of the undertaking and the extent of its impact. Projects involving heavy financial and technical components require more control. Projects of a local nature which can largely be carried out by participants should be managed with very minimal procedures from the government. Outside support should be limited to those kinds of inputs which are most difficult for people to provide for themselves.
His suggestions are mentioned here primarily to give planners a flavour of the differentiated sets of procedures which are likely to be most effective in participatory planning settings.

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VI. EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN ACTION: SEVERAL BRIEF EXAMPLES

In order to illustrate some of the issues discussed above several brief examples will be considered. They are intended to help focus the reader's attention on the points of tension between educational planning as it is now generally practised and the current emphasis on participatory and decentralized planning processes. The brevity unavoidably involves the risk of over-simplification and misrepresentation. The reader is referred to more extensive case study materials if interested in a more comprehensive presentation of the context and the reality for a particular case.

Planning in the context of the educational reform in Peru

The creative and ambitious reform plans for the educational system in Peru have attracted widespread attention. The complete set of reforms presented in the new General Law on Education proclaimed in 1972 is an example of an educational plan which represents a genuine alternative future for education in Peru rather than a progressive extension of the existing system. 1/ One of the major goals of the law is to end Peruvian dependence on imported culture and methods, and on the educational system which transmits those alien ideas. A major device for accomplishing this goal is that of community participation and decentralization of both educational administration and policy formation.

The basic organizational vehicle for participation, particularly in the rural areas, is the system of Nucleos Educativos Comunales (NEC). Nearly 900 of these units are envisioned, organised into zones, and with the zones grouped into regions, to cover the entire country. One of the major goals of the NEC structure is to mobilize family, community members and community resources in the service of a wide network of educational activities - both formal and non-formal. The major vehicle for participation at the NEC level is the Consejo Educativo Comunal (CONSECOM) which functions in an advisory role to the director of the NEC. The composition of the CONSECOM is prescribed by the law to consist of three groups: about 40 per cent teachers, 30 per cent representatives of families, and 30 per cent representatives of other local authorities and other sectors such as health and industry. The CONSECOM can also set up task forces which are called Education Action Committees to carry out specific projects.

1/ Hay, G.A., Educational finance and educational reform in Peru. Paris, IIEP, 1976. For a brief description in English of the new law and the structures for implementing it see Chapter III, pp. 105-124. See also Lyons, R.F., Primary school inspection in Peru, Paris, IIEP, Research Report No. 14, 1975 pp. 18-22.

Using this much too brief description of a very complex and systematically thought out reform law, one can now raise some issues deriving from the discussion of participation and decentralization. 1/ First, the scheme is primarily the product of a group of sophisticated planners in the central ministry. This is not to say that considerable consultation and discussion did not take place, but that for the average citizen the plan would necessarily be seen as "... something which had its origin outside themselves and their local communities." 2/ Compounding this problem of introducing the new law to the people, was the fact that Peru did not have any other national mobilization framework already in place and upon which the educational reform could build. The network of administrative structures and local committees envisioned had to be built up from scratch within the context of educational activities. Initially then, one could expect at best a predominantly nominal form of participation.

The composition of the CONSECOM, which is carefully specified in the law, raises two issues in the context of representation. By carefully limiting representation to certain groups, and by going so far as to specify just how those constituent groups were to be formed, the law was clearly aimed at the difficult task of promoting reform within an existing structure which was often controlled by people with different ideas. Thus existing workers' unions and teachers' organizations are carefully excluded as the source of representatives to the CONSECOM. This may in fact be an essential procedure for reform to take place, but should not be confused with structures arising from a participatory process. Another problem is raised by the large proportion of teachers, many of whom are employed by the ministry and whose continued employment depends on the good will of the ministry. One can speculate whether this group really represents the local area, or is more accurately serving as civil servants answerable to the ministry.

A more serious problem lies in the lack of either clear decision-making authority or any kind of budgeted resources for the CONSECOM. One must conclude that they are primarily viewed as devices for mobilization for support of the reform law, and monitoring groups to report on needs and problems to the zonal level authorities. This is not even deconcentration, but rather the assignment of the tasks of information distribution and the collection of data on needs and resources - in short staff functions in support of higher level decisions. Although apparently intended to serve as a means for upward communication, the real function would appear to heavily favour top-down communications.

The problem of local élites capturing the process is of course present in the CONSECOM, despite the attempt to forestall that by specifying composition. No real provision seems to have been made to deal with the problem of relationships between local administrative organizations and the CONSECOM. The former naturally is suspicious of the CONSECOM, feeling that some diminution of their own power is at hand. A second issue results from geographical realities with respect to the selection of the base towns for the CONSECOMs. Naturally the NECs have been placed in the relatively better developed communities in order to facilitate communication. An unintended consequence

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1/ Many of the issues raised here are based on insights of IIEP staff members who have been involved in extensive research projects on the educational planning process in Peru.

2/ Barnett, A.S. op. cit., p.41.

has been the relatively greater influence of members from the immediate locality, who also tend to be better off than the average citizen in the NEC. Their influence derives from their physical proximity, and the resultant greater probability of regular attendance at meetings. Poorer members living several days travel away find the personal opportunity costs of attending very high, attend less frequently, and therefore have correspondingly less influence - and consequently their section of the NEC is under-represented.

One final comment seems worth mentioning. The size of the structure envisioned creates something of the order of 7,000 professional level jobs if carried out as planned. The opportunity cost of such a massive recurrent cost certainly seems worthy of some thought. One cannot avoid asking what proportion of the planning and administrative costs are going to benefit the ultimate clients, and what proportion are being used to support those who are planning for the clients.

The intent of these comments is not a criticism of the reform process. The intent is a clarification of the meanings of participation and decentralization when used in educational planning. The process and the plan may in fact be the optimal strategy with which to begin the reform in Peru. The experience of all the new members of committees may well lead to the growth of their understanding and awareness and set the stage for future participation of a very different kind. The growth process is tortuous and slow. The planning issue is how best to facilitate this growth within the context of reform. The purpose of this brief set of points is to force planners to be analytically clear about just what is in fact contained in the structure and therefore what kinds of short- and medium-term results can realistically be expected.

Education for development: the Zambian educational reform statement

During the past year the Ministry of Education in Zambia has been engaged in a substantial effort to draw up a plan for educational reform which will make the educational system an active component in the National Philosophy of Humanism. Four teams of Zambians travelled to ten other countries, many with various forms of socialist inspired educational systems, and then met to draw up a draft plan. That plan was published in 1976 and is now under discussion by a wide range of officials and commentators representing various aspects of Zambian society. 1/ The visits included Peru which went through a similar process in 1970 and 1971. For the purposes of this paper, comments will be restricted to the organizational and administrative aspects of this plan.

The following series of quotations, taken from Chapter 8 on organisation and management will provide the basis for raising some issues:

> "....Zambia will retain a single, unified national education system, rather than a collection of systems identified with parochial interests ..... It is equally important that the educational system should reflect participatory democracy. Local communities will be involved...(The system will build its organisation on the principle of) .... vertical control of policy by the Party and Government; horizontal participation in management by the people, the teachers and students, and local authorities... it is clear that under the new system the integration of Party and Government machinery at all levels

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1/ Ministry of Education, Education for development : Draft statement on educational reform, Lusaka,, Ministry of Education, 1976.

> will be an important aspect of the decentralisation programme... (mobilisation of resources to achieve this major transition will require) strong local participation by individual communities. At the same time, tendencies towards disintegration through uncontrolled promotion of local interests must be firmly checked." 1/

To implement these principles the report describes a system of participation based on the three groups with the most direct interest in the education system: the students, the teachers and the parents (a term which is taken to include local community members). The plan includes the formation of councils consisting of representatives of these three groups at the school, district, provincial and national level in a manner quite parallel to the Peruvian model. The model differs from Peru in that use will be made of the existing teachers' union. Students and parents will be drawn from new organizations to be formed on a national basis. The plan states quite explicitly that all three national bodies will be affiliated to the Party.

Unlike Peru, Zambia does have a fairly well distributed party apparatus which provides a basis on which to build participation at various levels. In addition, the party provides a framework for insuring that those who participate are those who are willing to support the national philosophy and work within it. This is clearly dealt with in the plan by the specification that each of the three representative groups will be affiliated with the Party, and therefore presumably contain supporters of national policy. Likewise the role of participation, despite occasional rhetorical statements about it, is primarily that of enlisting support and mobilizing resources in the service of the national goals. At least at this stage, participation is to be limited to forming a basis for top-down communication and execution of the activities needed to carry out national policies.

The contradictions between organisational design and rhetorical goals may not be serious at this point. However, when the task of designing the actual levels of decision-making and the processes by which goals are to be formed and carried out, considerable conflict may result. People who have been led to believe that local committees are there to put together education of a kind needed by that community, will be quickly disillusioned by their lack of power or resources to carry out these tasks. Nowhere is the contradiction clearer than in the statement below which immediately follows a statement about new participation procedures:

> "The new system will not interfere with the present principle that responsibility for the management of institutions belongs to the Head of the institution, since the Head is answerable for the correct execution of policy".

At some point the large gap between the participatory language and the structural realities will have to be faced. Planners should at least be clear in their own minds about what a particular design will really accomplish.

1/ Ministry of Education, op. cit. pp. 73-75.

One should also note the very top-down nature of the planning process which led to the plan. Participation by anyone other than well-educated leaders from various national-level institutions seems to have been most minimal. 1/ Again, this may not be the wrong strategy, but one should not then expect committed understanding and eager willingness to work on the part of local communities without some other process intervening. Planners could start at the point outlined by the plan, and develop an intentional sequence of gradual changes in the structure which would gradually lead to growth in local capabilities which would move people eventually from nominal to responsible participation.

'Enseignement Moyen Pratique': A farmer-centered planning and education model

In contrast to both Peru and Zambia, Senegal has a long history of promoting participatory development approaches in rural areas. More than twenty years of experience with the animation rurale model has given some educators and planners in Senegal a more realistic understanding of what is required for responsible participation on the local level. The Enseignement Moyen Pratique (EMP - middle-level practical education) model builds on this experience and incorporates several important new components. 2/

The model starts from a recognition that the imported school model is contradictory to the structure of rural society and represents an external imposition. The EMP model is based on the principle that a new approach should be worked out by the people concerned, that it should result in a training programme designed by the users and should be focussed on an internally oriented system of agricultural production. The approach is characterized by a well thought out philosophy of development and the role of education in that development. Although the rationale was developed by a group of Senegalese and French intellectuals, it differs from other such plans in providing only a framework within which the details and actual project mechanisms must be worked out by the participants. The plan is explicitly a process to facilitate and support such participation, rather than a product which will be taken to the users for ex post facto support.

1/ Parallel examples are not difficult to find. A systematic and very thorough process was recently completed in Indonesia. The process included a fairly sophisticated system for setting priorities called "Value contribution technique" which facilitated explicit consideration of relationships between goals and means of achieving them. However, no participation was included outside of the highest level of national official. See Cluster II : Identification of goals, objectives and targets, Campbell, V., "Setting priorities among educational objectives" Vol. III, Jakarta, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, BP3K, July 1976.

For a very different level of planning where the possible consequences of not having local participation are much more serious see Lourie, S., The design of a regional educational plan, an illustration : informal education in the Highlands of Guatemala, Paris, IIEP, Seminar Paper No. 15, December 1974.

2/ For a good English language summary of the project see Lebrun, O., "In Fissel (Senegal) the farmers are taking over training of youths" in Educafrica, Vol. I(1), June 1974, pp. 51-67. The discussion is based on this reference and on a ten day field trip during which I visited the project and talked with officials at the national, regional and local levels of the project.

The key characteristic of the model is a process designed to break the cycle of economic and technological dependence of villages on the modern sector, and hence to attach the resultant psychological dependence. This aspect of the project draws heavily on Freire's conceptualization of the problem, and makes the process of conscientization a central aspect of their preparatory phase (phase préalable) of implementation. This phase takes place in two steps: first, generating interest in a project and acceptance of the idea that the farmers themselves can in fact take responsibility for a training programme; and second, a lengthy analysis of their perceptions and their situation which paves the way for a plan of action to address their problems. The two steps of the phase préalable may take as long as nine months, but are believed to be crucial prerequisites for effective action in the subsequent project activities.

The first step is perhaps the most difficult and begins with a series of meetings in which villagers must face the idea of having a project and, even more difficult, accept the idea that they can and should be responsible for designing the programme. Initially there is complete rejection. Villagers expect the project staff, because of their government label, to propose a plan. Comments like "We can't. You are the ones who 'know'. You went to the white man's school..." are typical. Villagers' attitudes are the product of years of experience in which they were 'objects' rather than 'subjects', and in which they learned behaviours of docile submission to events which were perceived as the 'magical' results of outside forces. During this stage the staff must refuse the temptation to accept leadership roles, and must gradually draw out the farmers by getting them to talk of their problems and the areas in which they do in fact have knowledge. Discussion continues until the farmers begin to realize that they can understand some of what is happening to them. The EMP team builds discussion around the core problem of training the youth and integrating them into the life of the village. Farmers do recognize the rapid out-migration of their youth as a central problem and know from personal experience the destructive effect of primary schooling on the attitudes and habits of their children. This central theme forms the basis for discussion and gradual acceptance of the idea that they must and can take personal action about the problem.

At the point where there is general acceptance of the need for a project and the beginnings of acceptance of responsibility for it, the second step is begun: the making of a critical analysis of their situation and the definition of the content of the future training programme for their villages. The discussions help farmers move from magical explanations of events, to more temporal ideas of causal factors within their experience. At the same time an attack is made on their dependency: solutions to problems are sought from within their environment and experience, and the tendency to turn to the 'experts' is gradually reduced. Emphasis is placed on developing a local technology which the villagers can possess themselves. The core problem of youth leaving the village is analysed in some detail. Forces are examined which pull youth toward the city and village forces which push them out are discussed. In short, the critical analysis of the problem leads to new skills and to a greater understanding of the problems and some of their causes. This understanding then forms the basis for planning the content and methods of the training to be carried out in the training centre which will be the locus of project activities.

From a process design perspective, planners should be aware of the structure of discussion groups which EMP found necessary. Both because of the number of people involved and because of the geographical spread of villages, discussions with smaller groups were necessary. Lebrun outlines a sequence of ten steps in the group discussions. 1/ These include meetings in each quartier of the village, meetings by each of three sub-groups in the village - elders, young adults and women; and summary meetings at the quartier and village level. Sub-village level meetings were then followed by the formation of a training committee composed of representatives from each of the twelve villages involved in the scheme, and then follow-up village meetings to share activities of the central committee. Notice that meetings of sub-geographical units were not sufficient. Traditional interaction patterns prohibited meaningful participation by youth and women when all met together with the elders. Meetings in more congenial groups facilitated new participatory skills, which were later on used at larger meetings. The special group meetings derive in part from traditional cultural groupings, knowledge of which emerged from preliminary discussions with village groups. Planners cannot avoid involvement in the details of the process if they wish to design a process which leads to responsible participation.

The EMP project has been presented in more detail, precisely because it illustrates the realities of participation which are so often overlooked by planners immersed in more abstract rhetoric. The importance and the length of the phase préalable highlight a critical issue for planners. Participation is a new skill which requires lengthy training times and cannot be effectively rushed to meet demands for more rapid progress. Precisely this issue is now a source of dialogue within the EMP project with Ministry level personnel insisting on a much more rapid expansion of the programme in order to reach larger numbers of people. Field staff who have been directly involved with villagers argue strongly that to do so will mean compromising the basic foundations of the project, and will result in just another imposed development project with results similar to those so often experienced in other rural projects.

Other characteristics of EMP are worthy of note by planners. During the lengthy development phases of the project, the programme had relative freedom from intervention either by national or by local level officials. The project worked directly with villages and grew upward from that nucleus, within a protective framework sanctioned at the national level. The programme now faces the difficult transition from relatively small pilot efforts to much larger scale regional implementation. For all projects this is a risky transition, and for one centered on local participation and initiation much more so. Whether effective compromises can be worked out to meet the competing demands from the top and the bottom remains to be seen. It should also be noted that the programme is set in a country with a relatively stable government which has long since educated the general public in the national philosophy, and which after much experience is reasonably realistic about the diversity and uncertainty of the process of local participation.

1/ Lebrun, O., op. cit. p. 65.

Finally, a note from the purist critics. The reader may have noted that in a sense the farmers did not really design their own programme. In fact, one can argue that they were co-opted in a sophisticated way into committing themselves to a model - that of the rural youth training centre which had been developed in outline form by the outsiders. In response, supporters would argue that there was genuine willingness to make significant modifications of the original scheme, which in fact did happen. EMP does provide a good example of the dilemma faced by any centrally initiated project which must plan ahead, and yet cannot predict what goals and methods will arise from local design efforts. On balance, the EMP approach offers an unusually rich example for planners attempting to bridge the gap between central planning and local participatory planning.

VII. MOVING FROM MYTH TO REALITY: SOME INITIAL CONCLUSIONS

The previous examples will hopefully stimulate readers to think more critically about other plans with which they are familiar, and to begin a process of demystifying some of the rhetorical aspects of such plans in favour of more realistic analysis of the organisational structures present and what they can be expected to produce. The purpose of this paper, and particularly the discussion in the section on participation, is not to suggest normative positions which planning should take. The intent is to give planners an analytical look at the endpoint of the participatory planning continuum, and thereby provide a benchmark against which to judge various intermediate positions along the continuum. The degree to which planning can and should provide for participatory procedures is an issue of political policy and of professional judgement involving analysis of national goals and of capacities represented by current realities. Current planning procedures are primarily located at the non-participatory end of the continuum, but are under increasing pressure to move at least some distance toward participation. The bulk of the paper has been devoted to analysis of the planning procedures which promote or inhibit participation. The task is now to design planning procedures consistent with the degree of participation sought.

The major implications for educational planning appear to lie in a basic shift in the role of the planner. This shift provides a general framework within which a variety of new directions in techniques and methods are emerging. The role shift is described by one author as follows:

> "... will mean a radical alteration in the role of the educational planner which should enable him to play a more exciting and creative part. He will no longer be adviser to the king. Instead he will become the activator and resource man for the action people who are doing their own planning".
>
> "... Participatory management and planning in education will place the planner in the centre of action as a change catalyst..."1/

He goes on to indicate some of the activities of planners in their new role. Included are: providing structures for communications and training, guiding and facilitating the participatory process, doing basic socio-technical research on ways of increasing participation, helping participating groups do their own action research, and providing expert advice. The thrust is clearly toward helping others do for themselves, rather than doing for them. Criteria for judging effective planning must correspondingly shift away from internal consistency and economic efficiency of the plans produced, and toward measures of the extent, of the equity, and of the effectiveness of planning procedures carried on by others.

1/ Westley, W.A., "Sociology of participant planning" in Participatory planning in education, Paris, OECD, 1974, p. 321.

The shifting role of the planner will not mean abandoning many of the techniques and procedures now used. Procedures for setting priorities, for specifying objectives, for managing resources, and for predicting future demands will remain relevant. However, the shift will require a conscious effort to demystify the terminology and techniques in order to provide access to them by those with much less formal educational training. Planners should embark on an analysis of their own procedures with the goal of understanding just what are the most essential elements, and what are in essence techniques of a more sophisticated nature which contribute little to the basic characteristics of the outcome. With a clear understanding of essentials in hand, the process of translating them into simple language and into participatory processes can begin. How would a group of village level people interested in education go about establishing what their learning needs are, and what their priorities are within those needs? How would such a group do a straightforward assessment of the educational resources, formal and non-formal, in their area? And how could they arrive at some initial procedures for accessing those resources, and beginning to solve some of their own problems? The planner of the future will need to be able to answer these questions and to behave so as to facilitate such planning procedures.

Similarly the planner of the future will need a much better understanding of, and ideally experience with, the nature of community development groups. The paper has discussed this issue at some length. In summary, planners will have to develop tolerance for ambiguity, for irregular rates of progress, and for goals which may seem inappropriate or in conflict with larger societal goals. Planners must learn to look beneath the goals and content in order to assess the degree of personal and group growth which development activities are promoting. These are the primary criteria; goals and content can be expected to shift in more realistic directions with experience. Groups must be allowed to make their own mistakes, and to learn from them. The planner must learn when not to intervene, limiting his action to heading off the most disastrous effects, but leaving the basic process to function by itself. These are very difficult skills to learn and to practise - raising the crucial question of where such facilitator-planner-administrator personnel are to come from. At least the need must be recognized and beginning steps taken in that direction.

To a lesser extent the same skills will be needed in designing and facilitating the activities of district and regional level groups. Here, the crucial design issue lies more in the area of representation. This is a topic for both research and experimentation, coupled with a study of the effects of alternate types of procedures governing the activities of such groups. At this level the planner can make somewhat more use of the traditional skills of setting goals, and mapping out timelines for various educational activities. Yet, even at this level, these goals will increasingly take on the characteristics of tentative targets designed more to stimulate dialogue than to serve as final goals. Plans will more and more take on the characteristics of open frameworks which make visible larger social needs and suggest areas of effort. Within those frameworks, detail, initiative, and activity will be left to the lower levels of organization, both private and government. Again criteria for judging effectiveness should shift toward an analysis of the process stimulated by the targets and away from assessment of measurable output in terms of buildings and certified graduates.

Above all planners must internalise the realization that the primary goal of the education system is to assist the majority of citizens to participate meaningfully in the life of the nation. The goal is manifestly NOT to prepare people for employment in the small modern sector of the economy. Once this basic change in frame of reference takes place the new emphases of procedures will flow quite naturally, although the task of implementation will be most challenging.

What shape will educational planning take then in the future? Some broad outlines can be sketched based on the foregoing discussion. Central level national planning will continue to have a role. Focus, though, should shift away from production of highly detailed plans and projections. Most such plans contain a great deal of spurious specificity hemmed in by lengthy chains of sequential assumptions - all open to considerable debate and non-trivial standard errors. Instead national planners should be charting major trends, and focussing on overall national needs which provide the reference points for policy-makers. The remainder of their efforts would more profitably shift to analysis of specific educational problems. Studying in detail the drop-out problem, or the relationships between locus of training and performance in industrial settings, or tracing flows of students from non-formal training settings into the world of work, are examples of problems which could yield better understanding of cause and effect relationships. These more micro-level studies would generate knowledge useful for micro-level decision-making, where future trends seem to suggest it should and will be located. Planners at the national level would thus shift emphasis toward articulating overall societal needs unlikely to emerge from more localized perspectives.

More detailed planning would be transferred to regional and district levels, but would retain the basic characteristics of an open framework highlighting major areas of need but not specifying details in other than exemplary fashion. At these sub-national levels planning should be characterized by differentiated sets of procedures. The degree of planning and control from above should be a direct function of such factors as: the geographical spread of the people it will influence, the proportion of central versus local resources required, the amount of technical expertise required, and the extent to which there are high costs for not carefully co-ordinating the activity with other educational or developmental efforts. The basic planning principle should take as its motto: "less is more." Using these criteria expensive formal educational institutions will require more planning and control than most non-formal educational activities. But even in the formal system, particularly at the lower levels, and particularly as social demand replaces manpower needs as the dominant force, the emphasis should gradually shift to local responsibility. Concomitantly the role of the planner shifts from planning for others to helping others plan for themselves.

The simplicity of such an approach with its emphasis on gradual evolution toward less rather than more control by higher levels of government runs against the normal trends in almost any human organization. Strategies for introduction of these new trends and changing existing bureaucracies, thus become a crucial new emphasis for planners. How are such changes to be initiated and sustained over long-time periods? What new organizational structures and procedures will promote rather than hinder this process? These are perhaps the questions for planners of the future.

To close, one might reiterate the question of WHY planning and development is moving back toward the clients and toward their increased control over their own lives? There seem to be two sources of pressure for movement in that direction. First, analysis of current ethics and values indicate that this is the only goal which is compatible with those values. Much debate is possible about how much, how soon, and at what speeds, but the end goal is increasingly similar regardless of the ideological framework within which the debate takes place. Second, development specialists and laymen alike are being forced to face the fact that other procedures are just not working. Effective rural development is seldom occurring unless there is extensive responsible participation by the people involved. Without that some progress is possible, but the disparities increase much faster than the growth which is now taking place. To return to Kinunda's opening quote, planners must now take as their goal of planning the development of human beings and not the development of plans. Many will be reluctant to leave the warm security of central planning offices and inert plans, but the action and the planning of the future lies outside the capital city, and outside the office. Planning must become an interactive process with individuals and groups and less a matter of pencils and paper.

OCCASIONAL PAPER No. 47 begins with a critical analysis of the assumptions underlying most educational planning. The author then reviews the forces acting to promote a reconsideration of educational planning procedures, followed by an analysis of the assumptions underlying current approaches which place greater emphasis on the involvement of learners in the planning process.

Section IV of the paper presents an analysis of the concepts of participation and decentralization. Three types of participation are described, and criteria for distinguishing between them are discussed. The concept of decentralization is analyzed in order to provide tools for distinguishing between rhetorical uses of the term and the reality of the organizational structures used to implement decentralization. These analytical concepts are then applied to brief case studies of planning activities in Peru, Zambia and Senegal.

The paper concludes with suggestions about changes in the role of planners in order to meet new educational goals of the future.

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